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THE POETIC FORM OF PSALM XXIII.<sup>1</sup>

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Psalm **23** is one of the classical texts in English literature. We find it in our primary readers,<sup>2</sup> and any attempt to depart from the Authorized Version (AV)<sup>3</sup> of this poem is apt to be looked upon as ruthless iconoclasm. But the traditional text is in a very unsatisfactory condition, especially from a metrical point of view.

According to Bæthgen, in the new third edition of his commentary,<sup>4</sup> v. 1 represents a trimeter, *i. e.*, a line with three beats;<sup>5</sup> v. 2: a double-trimeter; vv. 3. 4: three hexameters;<sup>6</sup> vv. 5. 6: four pentameters.<sup>7</sup> Such a mixture<sup>8</sup> is impossible.<sup>9</sup> Nor does Bæthgen's conjecture commend itself, that נפשי ישובב *He restores*<sup>10</sup> (or *refreshes*) *my soul*<sup>11</sup> should be translated *He leads me back*,<sup>12</sup> and combined with במעגלי צדק *in paths of righteousness*.<sup>13</sup> Bæthgen renders: *He leads me back*<sup>14</sup> *into right*<sup>15</sup> *tracks*,<sup>16</sup> but במעגלי צדק means *in paths of victory*,<sup>17</sup> and refers to the victories<sup>18</sup> of Judas Maccabæus<sup>18</sup> about 165 B. C. The whole double-hemistich<sup>35</sup> *He leads me on paths of victory for the sake of His name*<sup>19</sup> is an addition explaining the allegorical<sup>20</sup> language in the preceding lines. The *waters of comfort*<sup>21</sup> and *meadows of verdure*<sup>22</sup> symbolize the brilliant successes of Judas Maccabæus. In the same way the *valley of the shadow of death*,<sup>23</sup> or rather the *glen of gloom*,<sup>24</sup> refers to the Syrian persecutions. The foes, in the face of whom יהוה spreads a table for His people, are the Syrians.<sup>25</sup>

Wellhausen remarked in the Polychrome Bible:<sup>26</sup> The shepherd tends the whole flock, not a single sheep.<sup>27</sup> JHVH is the shepherd of Israel,<sup>28</sup> not of the individual Israelite.<sup>29</sup> The title *shepherds* in the OT is regularly employed in the transferred sense of *shepherds of the peoples*,<sup>30</sup> *kings*.<sup>31</sup> Any further interpretation of the imagery is modern. In c. 10 of the Fourth Gospel the term *shepherd* must be explained in the same way. The man with the sick lamb on his shoulder, in the Roman catacombs, is not Biblical; neither is the mother with the child.<sup>32</sup>

Gunkel's<sup>33</sup> interpretation in his *Selected Psalms* seems to me just as unsatisfactory as his metrical arrangement. He gives the text in three irregular stanzas of 4, 7, and 8 lines, respectively.<sup>34</sup> The difficult **וּשְׁבַחִי** at the beginning of the last **מִשְׁלֵי** or double-hemistich<sup>35</sup> is read by Gunkel **וּשְׁבַחִי**, with **שׁ** for **ס**,<sup>36</sup> and translated *I walk about*. But the reading of the Received Text is correct.<sup>37</sup> We must read neither **וּשְׁבַחִי** *I shall dwell*,<sup>38</sup> nor the infinitive **וּשְׁבַחִי** *and my dwelling*,<sup>39</sup> although these interpretations are supported by all the Ancient Versions<sup>40</sup> and nearly all modern interpreters.<sup>41</sup> **וּשְׁבַחִי בְּבֵית יְהוָה לְאֵדָם** **וּשְׁבַחִי** means *I shall return into the house of Jahveh for ever and ever*.

This psalm seems to have been written about the beginning of 165 B. C., after Judas Maccabæus had gained a series of brilliant victories<sup>42</sup> over the Syrian hosts sent against him, but it must have originated prior to the **הִנֵּחָה**,<sup>43</sup> the Rededication of the Temple in Dec. 165 B. C. (1 Macc. 4, 56). Hengstenberg<sup>44</sup> said more than fifty years ago: The confidence expressed in this psalm is not childlike confidence; it is the confidence of an experienced fighter who has gone through numerous trials and knows what they mean, but who has also seen abundantly how JHVH in such cases gives comfort and help. This observation is quite correct, although Hengstenberg considered the psalm to be undoubtedly Davidic<sup>45</sup> and disapproved of all historical interpretations of the poem.<sup>46</sup>

The objection that we should expect **וּשְׁבַחִי אֵל בֵּית יְהוָה**<sup>12</sup> (Duhm) instead of **וּשְׁבַחִי בְּבֵית יְהוָה** is not valid; **שׁוּב ב** is stronger than **שׁוּב אֵל**. The difference is the same as in the case of **בּוֹא אֵל** and **בּוֹא ב**,<sup>47</sup> or in Arabic, **دَخَلَ إِلَى الْبَيْتِ** and **دَخَلَ فِي الْبَيْتِ**.<sup>48</sup> Ewald<sup>49</sup> stated correctly that **שׁוּב ב** was equivalent to **שׁוּב וּבּוֹא ב**. The phrase **וּשְׁבַחִי אֵל-בֵּית יְהוָה**

would mean *I shall go back to the Temple*, while **וּשְׁבַתִּי בְּבֵית יְהוָה** is equivalent to *I shall re-enter the Temple*. The verb **שׁוּב** is construed with **ב** in several passages. In Ps. 7, 17 we read: **יָשׁוּב עַמְּלוֹ בְּרָאשׁוֹ** *on his own head his mischief returns*, and in 1 K 2, 33: **וְשָׁבוּ דַמֵּיהֶם בְּרֹאשׁ יוֹאָב** *Let their blood return upon the head of Joab*. In the interpolation Hos. 12, 7 **וְאַתָּה בֹּאֲלֶהוּךָ חָשׁוּב** does not mean *Thou wilt return (through, i. e.) with the help of thy God*, as Wellhausen<sup>50</sup> explains, but *thou wilt return into thy tents (i. e., thy dwellings)*. We must, with Marti,<sup>51</sup> read **בְּאַהֲלֶיךָ**; so, too, in v. 10. The correct rendering *I shall return* was given by J. D. Michaelis,<sup>52</sup> Paulus,<sup>53</sup> Knapp, Maurer, Köster, Vaihinger, Baur,<sup>54</sup> and Franz Delitzsch.<sup>55</sup>

Duhm<sup>56</sup> arranges Ps. 23 in five tetrastichs, or rather couplets of pairs of hemistichs,<sup>55</sup> with 3 + 2 beats.<sup>57</sup> This is the correct meter; but there are only four couplets, not five. Duhm prefixes to the clause *for Thou art with me* an additional hemistich *Even at night I am not afraid*, **גַּם-בַּלַּיְלָה לֹא אֶפְחָד**. Cheyne<sup>58</sup> inserted in the same passage the clause *No unseen foe shall hurt me*, adding in the Critical Notes (p. 378) that the structure of this artistic poem required some addition here.<sup>59</sup> But these additions are superfluous; the clause *for thou art with me* is merely a prosaic explanatory gloss to the following line *Thy staff and Thy (shepherd's) crook,—they give me courage*, just as v. 3<sup>b</sup> (*He leads me on paths of victory<sup>17</sup> for the sake of His name*)<sup>19</sup> explains the allegorical language in the preceding lines.<sup>20</sup> V. 3<sup>a</sup> (*He restores my soul*, or rather *He freshens my spirit*)<sup>11</sup> represents the shorter hemistich of the first line: *Jahveh is my shepherd, I lack nothing*.<sup>105</sup> In the second line the two hemistichs of the **בְּשֵׁל**<sup>35</sup> must be transposed:<sup>60</sup> *on meadows of verdure* should follow *By waters of comfort He rests me*.<sup>61</sup> **יִרְבֵּיצֵנִי** *He causes me to lie down*<sup>110</sup> after *meadows of verdure* is a prosaic gloss to **יִנְהַלֵּנִי** *He rests me*,<sup>62</sup> which, as Friedrich Delitzsch showed more than twenty years ago,<sup>63</sup> corresponds to the Assyr. *ušnā'il*.

If we eliminate these superfluous scribal expansions, and restore the shorter hemistichs of the first two lines to their proper place, we obtain four couplets of pairs of hemistichs<sup>35</sup> with 3+2 beats, which must be grouped in two sections,<sup>64</sup> each comprising two couplets. The second half begins with *Thou spreadest before me a table*. There is no abrupt transition from JHVH's flock resting

by waters of comfort on meadows of verdure to the table spread in face of the foes. The second section introduces a climax: the Maccabees not only suffer no want but are comfortable and secure under the guidance of the Shepherd of Israel. Although they face their foes, they are actually feasting: a table is spread, their cups are brimful, their heads are anointed as though they were banqueting<sup>65</sup> in times of peace, just as Ecclesiastes (9, 7. 8) says:

Go, eat thy bread with pleasure,  
and drink thy wine with cheer;  
And white be all thy garments,  
and oil for the head unfailing.<sup>66</sup>

It is as though General Stoessel, during the heroic defense of Port Arthur, had invited his officers, in full dress, to a champagne supper. Wellhausen remarked in the Polychrome Bible: The words (*Thou spreadest before me a table in the face of my foes*) might be spoken of citizens besieged, who, although access to them is cut off, are better supplied with food than the besiegers. But the Maccabees were not besieged at that time, they were the besiegers.<sup>67</sup>

The Hebrew text of Ps. 23 should be read as follows:

נפשי <sup>10</sup> ישובב:	יהוה רעי לא־אחסר 3 <sup>a</sup> . 1
בנאות <sup>22</sup> דשא <sup>a</sup> { } <sup>β</sup> [ ]:	על־מִי־מַנְהוֹת <sup>68</sup> יִנְהֹלֵנִי <sup>63</sup> { } 2
לֹא־אִירָא <sup>70</sup> רֵעִי <sup>γ</sup>	גַּם־כִּי־אֶלֶךְ בְּקִיא <sup>69</sup> צִלְמוֹת <sup>24</sup> 4
הַמָּה <sup>72</sup> יִנְחַמְנִי:	שִׁבְטְךָ וּמִשְׁעֶנְתְּךָ <sup>71</sup>
נֶגְדַי צִרְרִי	תַּעֲרֹךְ לִפְנֵי שִׁלְחֶךָ 5
כּוֹסִי <sup>74</sup> רוּחַ <sup>75</sup> :	דִּשְׁנֹתָ <sup>73</sup> בְּשִׁמְךָ רֹאשִׁי
כִּלְיֵמִי חֲיִי	אֶךְ־טוֹב וְחֶסֶד יִרְדּוּ־פָנַי 6
לְאַרְךְ יָמִים:	וּשְׁבֹתֶי בְּבֵית יְהוָה

2 (α) וּרְבִיצָנִי

3<sup>b</sup> (β) יִנְחַלֵּנִי<sup>14</sup> בְּמַעֲגְלֵי צֶדֶק<sup>17</sup> לְמַעַן<sup>19</sup> שְׁמוֹ:

4 (γ) כִּי־אֶתָּה עִמָּדִי

In my paper on David's Dirge<sup>76</sup> I have stated that the majority of the Hebrew psalms belong to the Maccabean period (about 170–70 B. C.). I have not discovered any pre-Exilic psalm. The prototypes of the hymns in the Hebrew Psalter are the cuneiform hymns and penitential psalms,<sup>77</sup> just as I showed some years ago that the Levitic ritual was influenced by Babylonian institutions.<sup>78</sup> It is interesting to see how easy it is to translate a Hebrew psalm into Assyrian.<sup>79</sup> A metrical Assyrian version<sup>80</sup> of Ps. **23** would read as follows:

1. 3a *Iâma*<sup>81</sup> re'i, ul-âmmu<sup>82</sup>                      napišti ušbarri<sup>83</sup>  
       2 *Eli-mê tapšaxê*<sup>84</sup> ušnâ'alanni,<sup>α</sup>    ina-ugare<sup>85</sup> diši.<sup>86 β</sup>
- 4 *Ina-nêrib*<sup>87</sup> eṭṭi<sup>88</sup> allák<sup>89</sup>-ma              limutta<sup>90</sup> ul-âddar<sup>91 γ</sup>  
       *Šibirruka*<sup>92</sup> u<sup>93</sup> xuṭartuka<sup>94</sup>              libbi utákkalû.<sup>95</sup>
- 5 *Ana-âši paššûra*<sup>96</sup> tarákas<sup>97</sup>              ina-máxar ábê'a<sup>98</sup>  
       *Rešû'a ina-šamni tapšus*<sup>95</sup>-ma        kâsi<sup>99</sup> idáxad.<sup>100</sup>
- 6 *Tábtu u-damiqtu irádû-ni*<sup>101</sup>              kal ûmê'a<sup>102</sup>  
       *Ana-bíti ša-Iâma atâr*                      ana ûme ḡâti.<sup>103</sup>

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(α) 2 ušarbaçanni

(β) 3<sup>b</sup> ina-urxe liti uštešaranni    aššu šumišu

(γ) 4 aššu-atta itti'a

I append an English version of this psalm in the meter of the Hebrew. Ps. **23**, which pictures the cheerful confidence of Judas Maccabæus and his faithful followers about the beginning of 165 B. C.,<sup>104</sup> should be translated as follows:

1. 3a JHVH is my shepherd, I lack nothing;<sup>105</sup>              [He freshens my spirit.]<sup>11</sup>  
       2} {By waters of comfort<sup>21</sup> He rests me,<sup>α</sup>              {on meadows of verdure. {[}β
- 4    Though I walk through a glen of gloom,<sup>106</sup>    I fear no harm; γ  
       Thy staff and Thy (shepherd's) crook,<sup>107</sup>        they<sup>108</sup> give me courage.
- 5    Thou spreadest before me a table<sup>106</sup>              in the face of my foes,<sup>25</sup>  
       Thou anointedst my head with oil,              my cup runs over.
- 6    Nought but happiness and favor will follow me    all the days of my life;  
       I shall return to the house of JHVH              for ever and ay.<sup>109</sup>

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(α) 2 He causes me to lie down<sup>110</sup>

(β) 3<sup>b</sup> He leads me on paths of victory<sup>17</sup>    for the sake of His name<sup>19</sup>

(γ) 4 For Thou art with me

A metrical rendering in German would read as follows:

1. 3a *Jahvéh ist mein Hirt, nichts fehlt mir;* [Er belebt meinen Muth.]  
 2 } } *Er lässt mich ruhn an friedlichen Wassern,*<sup>a</sup> } *auf grünenden Auen.* { }<sup>β</sup>  
 4 *Müsst' ich wandeln durch düstere Schluchten, ich fürchte kein Unheil;*  
*Dein Stecken und Dein Hirtenstab, sie flössen mir Muth ein.*  
 5 *Du deckest für mich eine Tafel, vor meinen Bedrängern,*  
*Hast gesalbt mein Haupt mit Öl, gefüllt ist mein Becher.*  
 6 *Nur Glück und Gunst folgen mir alle Tage meines Lebens;*  
*Zurück in Jahvéh's Haus kehr' ich für ewige Zeiten.*

(a) 2 *Er lässt mich lagern*

(β) 3<sup>b</sup> *Er führt mich auf Siegesbahnen, Seines Namens wegen*

(γ) 4 *denn Du bist bei mir*

### Notes.

(1) Read at the meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, New York, Dec. 27, 1904.

(2) See *e. g.*, S. L. Arnold and C. B. Gilbert, *Stepping Stones to Literature*, a Second Reader (Chicago, 1902) p. 109.

(3) Note the following abbreviations: AJSL = *American Journal of Semitic Languages* (continuing *Hebraica*) Chicago, 1895 ff.—*alt.* = as an alternative.—ASKT = Paul Haupt, *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte* (Leipzig, 1881).—AV = Authorized Version.—AV<sup>M</sup> = Authorized Version, margin.—BCP = Book of Common Prayer.— $\Xi$  = Ethiopic Version.—*Eccl.* = Haupt, *The Book of Ecclesiastes* (Baltimore, 1905) reprinted from the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. 26, No. 2 (Whole No. 102).— $\text{E}$  = Greek Version (LXX).—HW = Friedrich Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1896).— $\text{J}$  (Jerome) = Vulgate.— $\text{J}^H$  = *Psalterium juxta Hebraeos Hieronymi* (ed. Lagarde, Lipsiae, 1874).—JBL = *Journal of Biblical Literature*.—JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.—JHUC = *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*.—KB = E. Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* (Berlin, 1889 ff.).— $\text{M}$  = Masoretic text.—OT = Old Testament.—RV = Revised Version.—RV<sup>M</sup> = Revised Version, margin.— $\text{S}$  = Syriac Version (*Peshita*).— $\Sigma$  = Symmachus.—SBOT = Paul Haupt, *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament, critical edition of the Hebrew text, printed in colors, with notes* (Baltimore, 1893 ff.).— $\text{T}$  = Targum.—ZA = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (Munich, 1886 ff.).—ZAT = Stade's *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (Giessen, 1883 ff.).—ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

(4) Friedrich Bæthgen, *Die Psalmen* (Göttingen, 1904) p. 68. Bæthgen would do well to pay more attention to American journals. He does not mention Dr. Stevens' critical commentary on the Songs of the Return (Johns Hopkins dissertation, 1894; see JHUC, No. 114, p.

121) in *Hebraica* 11, 1-100. 119-173; nor does he refer to my paper The Poetic Form of the First Psalm (AJSL 19, 129-142) and my notes on Pss. 2. 45 (AJSL 19, 134. 136; cf. ZDMG 58, 629, n. 22; 630, n. 36) or to the paper on Ps. 2 in JHUC, No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 90. This has been overlooked also by Gunkel (see below, n. 33) as well as by E. Baumann and E. Sievers in their papers on Ps. 2 in ZDMG 58, 587-595 and 864-866.

(5) Cf. C. A. Briggs' remarks on Hebrew poetry in *Hebraica* 2, 164; 3, 152; 4, 65. 129. 201. Instead of dimeter, trimeter, &c. it would be better to use the terms dipody, tripody, &c. Cf. my remarks referred to below, n. 7.

(6) It is true that we find occasionally  $3 \times 2$  beats (3 dipodies) instead of  $2 \times 3$  beats (2 tripodies); cf. e. g. Eccl. 1, 2; 3, 1; 9, 2; 4, 17; 12, 1; see Paul Haupt, *Koheleth oder Weltschmerz in der Bibel* (Leipzig, 1905) and my *Eccl.* (see above, n. 3) n. 30 to the Introduction. But this shifting of the cesura is late. Cf. E. Sievers' remarks on *Cäsurverdeckung* and *enjambement* in his *Alttestamentliche Miscellen* (Leipzig, 1904) pp. 159. 188 (Proceedings of the Royal Society of Saxony).

(7) The name קִינָה meter is a misnomer; see my remarks in AJSL 20, 165, n. 9.

(8) Sievers' view that Hebrew poems often exhibit mixed meters (*Mischmetra* or *Wechselmetra*) seems to me untenable. There are, of course, some cases in which lines with  $2+2$  beats alternate with  $3+3$  beats (see my remarks on the Song of Lamech in AJSL 20, 164) but, as a rule, the apparent variations in the number of beats &c. are due to corruption of the text. See E. Sievers, *Studien zur hebr. Metrik* (Leipzig, 1901) p. 129 and compare my remarks in the abstract of my paper *Die Form der biblischen Liebeslieder* in the Transactions of the Thirteenth Oriental Congress (Leyden, 1904) p. 224. See also Beer's remarks on the alleged *Mischmetra* in the Psalms, in his review of the third edition of Bæthgen's commentary in the *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 30, 99. Sievers has not given a metrical analysis of Ps. 23.

(9) Bæthgen's metrical analysis seems to be based on J. Ley's *Leitfaden der Metrik der hebr. Poesie* (Halle, 1887) p. 47 (cf. p. 15 of the Hebrew appendix to Ley's book). According to Ley Ps. 23 consists of three stanzas preceded by an introductory verse (v. 1). Each of the first two stanzas (i: vv. 2. 3; ii: v. 4) comprises two hexameters, while stanza iii (vv. 5. 6) is composed of two decameters. But there are no decameters in Hebrew poetry: Ley's decameters are couplets of double-hemistichs with  $3+2$  beats (cf. above, n. 7, and below, n. 35). In his *Grundzüge des Rhythmus, des Vers- und Strophenbaues in der hebr. Poesie* (Halle, 1875) p. 222 Ley arranged the text of Ps. 23 in five decameters, grouped in three stanzas: i (vv. 1. 2)=one decameter; ii (vv. 3. 4)=two decameters; iii (vv. 5. 6)=two decameters. Ley's stanza i has really  $3 \times 3$  beats, not 10: the negative **לֹא אֶחָד** is unaccented (so correctly in Ley's *Leitfaden*). Nor was the arrangement of stanza ii satisfactory: Ley printed it (1875) in three lines consisting of  $2+3+2$ ;



4+4; 3+2, *i. e.*, 7+8+5=20 beats. For other arrangements of Ps. 23 in three stanzas *cf.* below, n. 34.

(10) *Cf.* מְשׁוֹבֵב *restorer*, Is. 58,12. For נְחִיבוֹת we must, with Lagarde, Oort, Klostermann, Cheyne, Marti, read נְחִיצוֹת (against Kittel, Duhm).

(11) That is, *He freshens my spirit*, gives me new strength, not *He shall convert my soul*, as BCP renders, following  $\mathfrak{I}$  *animam meam convertit* ( $\mathfrak{I}^H$ , correctly, *refecit*) =  $\mathfrak{E}$  ἡ γὰρ ψυχὴν μου ἐπέστρεψεν. The Psalter in BCP is derived from the Great Bible which was issued in the spring of 1539. נִפְשִׁי יִיחִיב בְּמָנָא  $\mathfrak{S}$  نَفْسِي اَعِدْ. According to A. B. Ehrlich, *Die Psalmen* (Berlin, 1905) נִפְשִׁי יִשׁוּבֵב means *Er lenkt meine Wünsche*. *Cf.* Beer's review of Ehrlich's book in the *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 30, 132.

(12) Bæthgen refers to Jer. 50,19 (cited in Hitzig's commentary) וְשִׁבְבֹתִי אֶחֱדִישׁ אֶל-יִשְׂרָאֵל *I will bring Israel again to her pasture*.

(13) So BCP, AV, RV, Hengstenberg, Schultz, Wellhausen, Ehrlich, Cheyne (1904; *cf.* below, n. 58) following  $\mathfrak{E}$  ἐπὶ τρύβους δικαιοσύνης,  $\mathfrak{I}$  *super* ( $\mathfrak{I}^H$  *per*) *semitas justitiae* ( $\mathfrak{S}$  عَصَا عَدَمٍ,  $\mathfrak{T}$  בהלכות צדקא). Ols-hausen rendered: *innocence*.

(14) According to Bæthgen נִפְשִׁי יִנְחֵנִי between נִפְשִׁי יִשׁוּבֵב and צֶדֶק בְּמִעְגְלֵי צֶדֶק seems to be a gloss or a scribal error, perhaps dittography of יִנְחֵלֵנִי (v. 2) or יִנְחֵמֵנִי (v. 4). But נִינְחֵנִי is correct; nor need we point יִנְחֵנִי (ZAT 16, 321). Bæthgen's combination of נִפְשִׁי יִשׁוּבֵב with צֶדֶק בְּמִעְגְלֵי צֶדֶק (*cf.* below, n. 61) is not new; we find it in the Arabic versions of the Psalms edited by Lagarde: *Psalterium, Iob, Proverbia Arabice* (Göttingen, 1876). The first two of those versions (*i. e.*, the text of the Roman edition of 1614 and the text of the Paris Polyglot) render (Paris. ua-'ilâ subuli 'l-birri radda nafsî ua-hadâni li'ajli 'smika (var. 'smihi). For the interchange between the second and the third persons *cf.* my remarks in ZDMG 58, 622, n. †.

(15) So, too, Duhm. The rendering *straight* is supported by Ibn Ezra, Kimchi, Calvin, Gesenius, Rosenmüller, Grætz, Hupfeld.

(16) *Führt mich zurück (leitet mich) auf rechte Geleise.*

(17) For צֶדֶק *victory, triumph* (DeWette, Ernst Meier, Hitzig, Kamphausen, Ewald, Bickell: *Heil*) see my remarks on בְּצִדְקָה in the gloss to the Song of Vengeance, Is. 63, 1-6, in n. 24 to my paper on Babel and Bible, JHUC, No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 50.

(18) The objection raised against the derivation of the name Mac-cabee from מַקְבֵּת *hammer*, that מַקְבֵּת does not denote a large sledge-hammer, but a smaller hammer, falls to the ground if we assume that Judas received this surname while he was a boy. *Was ein Häkchen werden will, krümmt sich bei Zeiten.* Judas Maccabeus was *mighty in strength even from his youth up* (1 Macc. 2, 66) ἰσχυρὸς ἐν δυνάμει αὐτὸς ἐκ νεότητος αὐτοῦ. Contrast E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1901) p. 204, below.

(19) Cf. 1 Macc. 4, 11. The glory of His name would suffer, if His people were subdued. The heathen would say, Where is their God? and we, His people and the flock of His pasture, would become a scoff to our neighbors, the derision and scorn of those round about us; see Ps. 79, 4. 9. 10. 13 and cf. the note to my paper on the penitential psalm *De Profundis* in *Hebraica* 2, 100, below (January, 1886) and Dr. Stevens' commentary (see above, n. 4) in *Hebraica* 11, 127, below. Duhm's explanation, He leads me on right tracks for His name's sake, because He is צדיק, is not satisfactory. Paulus (see below, n. 53) remarked: למיך שמו *wie sein Name (der Begriff) Hirte es mit sich bringt*. According to Ehrlich<sup>11</sup> למיך שמו means: *damit nicht die Ausschweifung eines Schützlings JHVHes seinem göttlichen Namen Unehre mache*. He seems to use *Ausschweifung* in the sense of *straying*, wandering from the path of rectitude.

(20) Cf. my remarks in Crit. Notes on Proverbs (SBOT) p. 38, l. 18.

(21) This is the translation given in BCP (= *ſ aqua refectonis*). In the same way Ewald, Kamphausen, and Hupfeld render: *waters of recreation and refreshment* (Luther, *zum frischen Wasser*; Bickell, *zur frischen Quelle*). AV has *the still water*. The rendering *still* (סָלֵם) (בְּרִי נִידָהָ שׁ, נִסְלָ) is supported by J. D. Michaelis,<sup>52</sup> Gesenius, E. Meier, DeWette,<sup>54</sup> Hitzig, Grätz, Ehrlich.<sup>11</sup> AV<sup>M</sup>: Heb. *waters of quietness*, RV<sup>M</sup> *waters of rest* (that is, where it is good to rest). This is favored by Olshausen, Kautzsch, and Gunkel. But Heb. נָחָה *to rest* is used especially of the rest which JHVH gives His people by granting them possession of Canaan and victory over the neighboring heathen tribes; cf. Ex. 33, 14; Josh. 1, 13. 15; Deut. 3, 20. *Waters of comfort* symbolizes the comfort they feel after JHVH has given them rest from all their enemies round about, so that they dwell in safety (Deut. 12, 10; cf. 25, 19). The term מְנוּחָה is used especially of the peaceful settlement in Canaan after the troublesome wanderings in the desert (cf. Ps. 95, 11; Deut. 12, 9). The Syrian persecution was as troublesome as the wanderings in the desert; moreover, at the beginning of the Syrian persecution many of the orthodox Jews fled into the wilderness (1 Macc. 2, 29). After the desert of the Syrian persecution they enjoy now waters of comfort (*i. e.*, tranquil enjoyment and freedom from anxiety) and meadows of verdure (fresh hopes for the future). The winter of their suffering is made glorious summer. Cf. also *Es lacht die Aue* in Wagner's *Par-sifal*. Ἐ has ἐπὶ ὕδατος ἀναπαύσεως, cf. κατὰπαντος Heb. 3, 11. 18; 4, 1. 3. 5. 10. 11 and κατέπανσεν ῥομφαία ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ 1 Macc. 9, 73; also ἡσύχασεν 1 Macc. 7, 50; 9, 57; 11, 38. 52; 14, 4. מְנוּחָה is an intensive plural; cf. ZDMG 58, 623, l. 1. Cheyne (1904) reads יְהוָה מֵיִם חַיִּים עַל מְבוּעֵי יַהֲלֵנִי *To fountains of living waters Yahwè leads me to drink*.

(22) Heb. דִּשְׁאָ means *fresh verdure, shoots from the seeds*, comprising all plants in their incipient stage, not *aftergrowth*, or *grass*, &c. See Crit. Notes on Proverbs (SBOT) p. 64, l. 44.

(23) Ἐ καὶ θανάτου, *ſ umbra mortis*, שׁ טוֹלָה דְּמוּתָא, *ſ* بَحْکُ مَدْلُ *ſ*. The traditional pronunciation צְלִמּוּת has been defended by Nöldeke in

ZAT 17, 183 (1897); cf. Cheyne in *Hebraica* 1, 251 (1885) and Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode* (Giessen, 1892) p. 194, below. It is retained also by DeWette, Hitzig, Kamphausen, Ley, Cheynè, Delitzsch, Brown-Driver-Briggs, Grimme, and Nowack in his review of Gunkel's *Ausgewählte Psalmen* in *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 29, 700 (Dec. 24, 1904). Delitzsch thinks that the word may have been originally צְלִמּוֹת. According to Kirkpatrick the traditional צְלִמּוֹת may be due to a popular etymology.

(24) We must read צְלִמּוֹת, or צְלִמּוֹת, as an intensive plural (cf. above, the remarks on מְנִירוֹת at the end of n. 21) of a noun צְלִמָּה = Arab. ظلمة *ẓulme* (plur. ظلمات *ẓulumât*) Eth. ጸልሙት: *darkness* (cf. Assy. ṣalmu, fem. ṣalimtu *dark, black*). There is, of course, no connection between צְלִמּוֹת *darkness* and צֶלֶם *image*. The former has a צ, the latter a צ; see Haupt, *Beiträge zur assyrischen Lautlehre* in the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Göttingen (GGN) April 25, 1883, p. 92. For the plural *ẓulumât* see *ibid.*, p. 89, n. 3; *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* 1, 377. For Arab. غنام *ḡanam image* (an Aramaic loanword) with *n* instead of *l*, cf. Arab. كنة *kanne* = Assy. kallātu *bride* (כְּלֶה); Ethiop. ቤኒት: *bēnát* = Assy. bilat *tribute* (בִּלְתָּה Ezra 4, 13. 20; 7, 24); Arab. آبن *abbana to lament, mourn for, eulogize* (آبَنَهُ إِذَا مَدَحَهُ بَعْدَ مَوْتِهِ) = Heb. אָבַן; Arab. غان *ḡaḥn dish, plate* (Eth. ጸሐል: ) = Heb. צֶלֶח; Assy. xingā = הלצים (Arab. خصر *xaṣr*, pl. خصور, and خاصرة, pl. خواصر); see n. 104 to my paper on *Babylonian Elements in the Levitic Ritual* (JBL 19, 77) and my *Book of Canticles* (Chicago, 1902) p. 27, n. 11 = AJSL 18, 217.

J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* (Berlin, 1891) p. 411, n. 3 conjectures that the original form of the word was צְלִמּוֹת, an abstract formation with the termination -ōth, like הַכְּמִיּוֹת; see, however, my remarks in *Crit. Notes on Proverbs* (SBOT) p. 34, l. 31; cf. JBL 21, 192. The majority of modern Hebraists read צְלִמּוֹת, e. g. Gesenius-Buhl, Siegfried-Stade, Ernst Meier, Olshausen, Hüpfeld, Bickell, Kirkpatrick, Schultz, Kautzsch, Bachmann, Wellhausen, Gunkel; also Ehrlich.<sup>11</sup> According to Gunkel צְלִמּוֹת is a special term for Orcus; he refers to Job 10, 21; 38, 17 and Istar's descent to Hades, the Greek legend of Orpheus, &c. In the Babylonian Nimrod Epic (KB 6, 188, 29) Hades is called bit ekliti *the house of darkness* (הַכֶּל); cf. my remarks in *Crit. Notes on Proverbs* (SBOT) p. 35, l. 49; p. 33, l. 17.

(25) Cheyne,<sup>58</sup> p. 66 stated: The foes in v. 5 may well be national foes . . . . The speaker is any pious Israelite in whose mind both national and personal hopes and fears rest side by side. A national element in the psalm cannot be denied. In his Bampton Lectures (see below, n. 27) p. 319 Cheyne remarks, Ps. 23 cannot have merely a national reference, as some theorists have persuaded themselves, unless indeed the allegory

in John 10 can have a similarly restricted meaning. Contrast Wellhausen's remarks cited below, n. 32. The foes are certainly not worldly, rich aristocrats (Sadducees) as Gunkel supposes; contrast my remarks on רשעים, חטאים, לצים in my paper on Ps. 1 (AJSL 19, 140). Nor can נגד צררי mean that the enemies must look on (*meine Feinde haben das Zusehen*), as Gunkel translates, following Duhm. Similarly Ehrlich<sup>11</sup> renders: *Du bereitest den Tisch für mich, dem meine Widersacher fern bleiben müssen*. Contrast Eccl. 5, 10 in my translations cited below, n. 42. Cheyne (1904) reads בקרב הציירך *within thy courts* instead of נגד צררי.

(26) J. Wellhausen, *The Book of Psalms* (New York, 1898) p. 174.

(27) Olshausen, *Die Psalmen* (Leipzig, 1853) p. 129 remarked, God's flock, not an individual, speaks. Similarly E. Reuss, *Das Alte Testament* 5, 91 (Braunschweig, 1893) says, The shepherd suggests a flock, not a single sheep (so, too, Bæthgen). Kirkpatrick, on the other hand, states in his notes on this psalm (in the Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges, 1892) that its tone is strongly personal. In the same way Hitzig (*Die Psalmen*, 1863) believed that Ps. 23 was personal and that it referred to an individual, not to the congregation (so, too, Hupfeld and Gunkel); the poet was a priest or prophet, possibly Jeremiah (about 650–580 B. C.). Hitzig's view was endorsed by C. J. Ball in his *Jeremiah* (1890); contrast Cheyne's remarks in his Bampton Lectures, *The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter* (London, 1891) pp. 135. 250. According to Grætz (1883) Ps. 23 was written by a Levite at the time of Manasseh (692–638 B. C.) or Jehoiakim (607–597 B. C.). Duhm says, the author may have been a man like Simon (142–135 B. C.) or his third son and successor, John Hyrcanus (135–104 B. C.). Contrast below, n. 46. For the date of the psalm cf. below, n. 104.

(28) Cf. Ezek. 34, 11; Pss. 80, 2; 77, 21; 78, 52; Is. 40, 11; &c.

(29) Duhm's explanation that the psalmist celebrates JHVH as his shepherd on the path of life and as his host in the Temple is not satisfactory. Nor can we believe, with Duhm, that vv. 1–3<sup>a</sup> is a reminiscence from Is. 49, 9. 10.

(30) Cf. the Homeric ποιμένες λαών.

(31) J renders: *Dominus regit me* (JH pascit).

(32) See J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, part 6 (Berlin, 1899) p. 171.

(33) H. Gunkel, *Ausgewählte Psalme* (Göttingen, 1904) p. 52; cf. above, n. 25, and n. 22 to my paper *The Prototype of the Magnificat* (ZDMG 58, 629).

(34) According to Hengstenberg (1850) Ps. 23 consists of three stanzas, each stanza comprising two verses. DeWette-Baur (1856) assumed two stanzas: vv. 1–3 (6 hemistichs) and vv. 4. 5 (7 hemistichs) followed by a concluding verse (v. 6) which might be combined with the preceding stanza ii. Kamphausen in Bunsen's *Bibelwerk* (1863) arranged his translation of this psalm in three stanzas, viz. i: vv. 1. 2 (4 hemistichs)—ii: vv. 3. 4 (6 hemistichs)—iii: vv. 5. 6 (6 hemistichs). Also in

the third edition of Hupfeld's commentary (1888) we find three stanzas, each consisting of two verses, *viz.* i: vv. 1. 2 (3 hemistichs)—ii: vv. 3. 4 (6 hemistichs)—iii: vv. 5. 6 (6 hemistichs). For Ley's strophic arrangements of this poem see above, n. 9. According to the posthumous edition of Franz Delitzsch's commentary<sup>55</sup> Ps. 23 consists of two hexastichs with short concluding lines which may be compared to the Adonic verse of the Sapphic stanza. These two hexastichs are followed by a final tetrastich with alternate long and short lines.

Reuss in his translation of OT, vol 5 (Braunschweig, 1893) p. 90 has five tristichs, while Bickell, *Dichtungen der Hebräer*, part 3 (Innsbruck, 1883) p. 39 assumed five tetrastichs with alternate 3 and 2 beats. This has been adopted by Duhm, see below, n. 57.

Wellhausen (SBOT, 1895) has no strophic division; he prints the text in 15 lines of unequal length, representing either double-hemistichs (ll. 6. 10. 11. 14. 15) or hemistichs, or fragments of hemistichs (the opening hemistich, **יְהוָה רֵעִי לֹא־אֲהַסֵּר**, *e. g.* is printed in two lines). Ehrlich<sup>11</sup> follows Wellhausen's incorrect stichic arrangement; but he has 17 hemistichs instead of 15, **לְמִקֵּץ שָׁמַיִם** and **נִגְדַּת צִרְיָן** being correctly treated as separate hemistichs. The stichic arrangement in G is different, but just as inconsistent. Ginsburg arranges the text in 12 lines; the first four of them represent hemistichs, but the following eight lines are double-hemistichs. Similarly RV has 12 lines, four of which (ll. 1. 2. 3. 4. 6) are hemistichs, while the other eight lines are double-hemistichs. Kautzsch has no strophic division, just as J. D. Michaelis,<sup>52</sup> Hitzig, and RV have no blank lines in their stichic translations of this psalm.

(35) See n. 33 to my paper cited above, n. 33; *cf.* ZAT 11, 316; 12, 214; 13, 280.

(36) Contrast my note on **סְתֵר** for **שֵׁתֶר** Cant. 2, 11 in Haupt, *The Book of Canticles* (Chicago, 1902) p. 72 = AJSL 19, 18 and Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 181, l. 49.

(37) The reading **וְשִׁבְתִּי** was retained by Ley in his *Leitfaden* (1887). In his *Grundzüge* (1875) he read **וְשִׁבְתִּי**, with the accent on the penult. According to Franz Delitzsch **וְשִׁבְתִּי בְּבֵית יְהוָה** is a *constructio praegnans*: I shall dwell again (*Ich werde wiederkehren, im Hause Jahveh's wohnen*). DeWette's view that **וְשִׁבְתִּי** was a shortened form of **וְיִשְׁבְּתִי** (so, too, Hitzig, 1863; Ewald, 1866) was contested by Baur (1856). Hengstenberg considered **וְשִׁבְתִּי** to be the inf. of **יָשַׁב** (= **וְיָשַׁבְתִּי**); so, too, Kirkpatrick *alt.*

(38) So Grætz, *Emendationes*, 1893 (in his commentary, 1883, he said, **וְשִׁבְתִּי** stands for **וְיִשְׁבְּתִי**), Kautzsch, Bachmann, Wellhausen, Oort, Bæthgen, Cheyne (1904).

(39) So Duhm (*alt.* **וְיִשְׁבְּתִי**) and Ehrlich.<sup>11</sup>

(40) **Ἐ καὶ τὸ κατοικεῖν με (Ἐ ἄσῃ : ἄλ-λ-ῃ : ut habitare facias me);** **Σ, καὶ κατοικήσῃς μου; Ἐ et ut inhabitem (Ἐ et habitabo), ט כר אֲתִיב כר אֲתִיב**, **אָתִיב**, Saadya **اُتِيب**, **uā-'uqīmu**. בבית מקדשא

(41) For instance, Luther, AV, RV, Rosenmüller, Ernst Meier, Olshausen, DeWette, Hengstenberg, Hitzig, Kamphausen, Hupfeld, Ewald, Schultz, Bickell, Reuss, Cheyne, Kirkpatrick, Kautzsch, Wellhausen, Oort, Bæthgen, Duhm, Ehrlich.<sup>11</sup>

(42) At Beth-horon, Emmaus, Beth-zur, &c. For the allusions in Eccl. 9, 13-18 to Antiochus Eupator's subsequent unsuccessful siege of Beth-zur (163 B. C.) *cf.* my *Koheleth* (see above, n. 6) p. 30, n. 9; and my *Eccl.* (see above, n. 3) n. 6 on VI.

(43) *Cf.* ZAT 22, 281. Ps. 118 is supposed by some to be the pæan sung when Judas' victorious army (Dec., 165 B. C.) entered the gates of the Temple (1 Macc. 4, 54); but it seems to me more likely that it commemorates the triumphal entrance of Simon, after the last outpost of the Syrians, the Syrian garrison in the Acra (the citadel of Jerusalem) had been starved into surrender in May, 142 B. C. (1 Macc. 13, 51). According to my investigations the chronological order of the principal so-called Messianic Psalms is as follows: Psalms 132 and 110 refer to Zerubbabel, of the House of David, and were written under the reign of Darius Hystaspis about 516 B. C. Ps. 72 seems to have been written in Alexandria when Ptolemy I. Lagi, at the ripe age of 82, abdicated in favor of his youngest son, Ptolemy II. Philadelphus, in 287 B. C. Ps. 16 originated at the beginning of the Maccabean rising in 167 B. C. Ps. 1 was written in 153 B. C., three years before the wedding of Alexander Balas and the Egyptian princess Cleopatra in 150, which is glorified in Ps. 45. Ps. 118 was written in 142 B. C., and Ps. 2 at the time of the coronation of Aristobulus as the first Hasmonean King of the Jews in 104 B. C. Ps. 23 must be placed between Ps. 16 (167 B. C.) and Ps. 1 (153 B. C.).

For Ps. 16 *cf.* my remarks in n. 60 to my paper on Moses' Song of Triumph (AJSL 20, 172); for Ps. 1 see AJSL 19, 135, n. 11, second paragraph; for Pss. 2, 45, 118 see my remarks referred to above, n. 4, and the translation of Ps. 45 in my *Eccl.*, n. 9 on III; for Ps. 72 *cf.* Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 227, l. 36; for Ps. 110 *cf.* JHUC, No. 114, p. 110; and for Ps. 132 see Dr. Stevens' dissertation referred to above, n. 4 (AJSL 11, 91). Contrast J. Halévy's remarks on Pss. 2 and 110 in No. xxv of his *Recherches bibliques*.

(44) E. W. Hengstenberg, *Commentar über die Psalmen*, vol. 2, second edition (Berlin, 1850) p. 57.

(45) So, too, Franz Delitzsch (see below, n. 55).

(46) In the same way DeWette-Baur (1856) remarked: This psalm is free from all personal and contemporary references. Historical interpretations are out of place. Reuss, too, says (1893): This psalm requires no historical interpretation. Contrast above, n. 27.

(47) See my remarks in Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 161, l. 43.

(48) See Socin's Arabic Grammar, fourth edition (Berlin, 1899) § 106. This remark is omitted in the fifth edition (Berlin, 1904) edited by Brockelmann.

(49) H. Ewald, *Die Psalmen und die Klagelieder*, third edition (Göttingen, 1866) p. 102.

(50) J. Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten*, third edition (Berlin, 1898) p. 19, below; cf. *ibid.*, p. 129 and W. Nowack, *Die kleinen Propheten*, second edition (Göttingen, 1903) p. 75, below.

(51) K. Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton* (Tübingen, 1904) p. 95, below. W. R. Harper, *The Structure of the Text of the Book of Hosea* (Chicago, 1905) p. 41, below, renders: *So thou by the help of thy God shouldst turn back.*

(52) J. D. Michaelis, *Deutsche Übersetzung des Alten Testaments mit Anmerkungen für Ungerlehrte*, part 6, *Psalmen* (Göttingen, 1782) p. 32: *Und ich kehre auf ewig zum Hause Gottes wider.*

(53) H. E. G. Paulus, *Philologische Clavis über die Psalmen*, second edition (Heidelberg, 1815) p. 152: *וְשִׁבְתִּי בַּ* und ich werde zurückkommen in, zu, eis, von *שׁוּב*.

(54) See G. Baur's note in DeWette's *Commentar über die Psalmen*, fifth edition (Heidelberg, 1856) p. 166, below.

(55) Franz Delitzsch, *Biblischer Kommentar über die Psalmen*, fifth edition (Leipzig, 1894) edited by Friedrich Delitzsch.

(56) B. Duhm, *Die Psalmen* (1899) in Marti's series; cf. his metrical version of the Psalms, published in the same year (Freiburg i. B., 1899).

(57) Bickell arranged his translation of Ps. 23 in this way more than twenty years ago; see above, n. 34. According to Ley's *Grundzüge* (1875) Ps. 23 consisted of five decameters = five double-pentameters (cf. above, n. 9). Cheyne<sup>58</sup> remarked: The rhythm is perhaps not uniform throughout; but there is a tendency to alternate trimeters (lines with three beats) and dimeters (those with two). Hubert Grimme in his *Psalmenprobleme* (Freiburg, Switzerland, 1902) pp. 18. 37 adopts Bickell's and Duhm's view that Ps. 23 consists of lines with 3 and 2 beats, but he misscans them; see below, nn. 70. 71. Only the last but one line of the poem is read correctly by Grimme (*op. cit.*, p. 19).

(58) T. K. Cheyne, *The Book of Psalms* (London, 1888). Cf. Cheyne's new work *The Book of Psalms, translated from a revised text, with Notes and Introduction* (London, 1904).

(59) Bickell inserted before *כִּי אֶחָדָה עֲמִדִּי*: *Nicht beb' ich auf dem Wege.* Cheyne (1904) supplies *מִפְּאִיר לֵאֲרָדָה* *Neither lion nor young lion do I dread.*

(60) See my remarks in Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 282, l. 5.

(61) Bickell inserted *בְּנֵאוֹת* after *יְהוָה רֵעִי*, omitting *וְדָשָׁא* and *יִרְבִּיצִנִי*. He disregards the *סוֹף פָּסוּק* at the end of v. 2, combining *נַפְשִׁי יִשׁוּבָב* with *עַל מִי מִנְחֹת יִנְהַלֵּנִי*, whereas Bæthgen (see above, n. 14) combines *נַפְשִׁי יִשׁוּבָב* with *בְּמַעְגְלֵי צֶדֶק*.

(62) According to Duhm *וְיִרְבִּיצִנִי* is omitted in *℣*, and *℣ κατεσκήνωσεν* (*℣ collocavit*, *℣<sup>H</sup> adelinavit*) is a variant to *ἐξέθρεψέν με* = *יִנְהַלֵּנִי*; but *κατεσκήνωσεν* is the rendering of *יִרְבִּיצִנִי*, and it is more correct than the rendering *ἐξέθρεψέν με* for *יִנְהַלֵּנִי*. *℣ ἐξέθρεψεν* (*℣ ἡθροῦ*, *ἡδανάνι*, *℣ educavit*, *℣<sup>H</sup> enutrivit*) was followed by Hengstenberg, *pflęgt mich*; cf. Gen. 47, 17. *וְיִנְהַלֵּנִי*, *℣ ἡθροῦ*.

(63) See Friedrich Delitzsch, *The Hebrew Language* (London, 1883) pp. 5, 6; *Prolegomena* (Leipzig, 1886) pp. 17-20; HW 438<sup>b</sup>. Cheyne<sup>58</sup> considered Delitzsch's explanation plausible. Assy. *nālu* (ܢܠܐ) is a synonym of *rabāḡu* (ܪܒܥܐ) *to lie down*. The causative *uśnā'il* (or, contracted, *uśnīl*) is the Shaphel of the Piel (= *uśnahhil*). Cheyne (1904) translates יְנַהֵלֵנִי : *He leads me to drink*.

(64) Cf. my remarks in Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 278, l. 19; ZDMG 58, 619, l. 3; 628, n. 9; and my *Eccl.*, n. 30 to the Introduction. J. D. Michaelis<sup>52</sup> stated as early as 1782 that Ps. 23 consisted of two sections (vv. 1-4 and vv. 5, 6). Ernst Meier arranged this psalm in two sections, each consisting of two stanzas; each of his stanzas comprises six lines with two beats (i: vv. 1, 2;—ii: vv. 3, 4<sup>a</sup>;—iii begins with כִּי אֶתֶּה עֲבָדִי;—the first line of iv is כֹּסֵי רִיחָה. According to Ewald the two sections are vv. 1-3 (6 hemistichs) and vv. 4-6 (6 hemistichs). Olshausen remarked in 1853: This psalm has been divided into two stanzas, each consisting of three verses: vv. 1-3 and vv. 5, 6; but v. 4 belongs to the preceding verses. This criticism was quite correct: the first section comprises vv. 1-4, the second: vv. 5, 6. According to Cheyne's new translation of the Psalms (London, 1904) Ps. 23 is composite. He considers vv. 5, 6 a separate fragment (cf. ZAT 7, 308; *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1892, p. 672). He arranges vv. 1-4 in two stanzas, each consisting of four pentameters; the last but one line of the second stanza is lost. Verses 5 and 6 are correctly arranged in four lines but not in couplets.

(65) Cf. my *Eccl.*, n. 1 on VIII. Jesus said to the Pharisee Simon, who had invited him to a meal, My head with oil thou didst not anoint (Luke 7, 46). Sardanapalus mentions, in the cuneiform account of his eighth campaign, against the King of Elam, Ummanaldas, that he conquered Susa and carried off as spoil among other things: *ša ina muxxi ūšibū ittilū, ina libbi ekulū ištū irmukū ippaššū whereon they sat and slept, wherefrom they ate, drank, made libations, and anointed themselves* (KB 2, 204, 20, 21). The form *ippaššū* is impf. Niphal (= *inpašišū*) not pres. Qal (= *ipášašū*) as Jensen states. For the stem *pašāšu to anoint*, cf. my remarks on כִּשֵּׁי בָרִי נֶפֶשׁ Is. 3, 20 in Crit. Notes on Isaiah (SBOT) p. 82, l. 7. Cheyne (1904) reads תִּרְשֵׁן שִׁבְיָן נֶפֶשִׁי *My desire Thou satisfiest with rich foods*.

(66) Cf. my translation in JHUC, No. 90 (June, 1901) p. 115<sup>b</sup> and in *Oriental Studies* (Boston, 1894) p. 257; also my metrical German version cited above, n. 6; and my *Eccl.* (see above, n. 3). According to A. Jeremias, *Babylonisches im Neuen Testament* (Leipzig, 1905) p. 77, God tells the pious man in Eccl. 9, 7 to partake of the bread and wine which are kept for him in Paradise. But Ecclesiastes did not believe in the existence of Paradise.

(67) See, however, above, n. 43 and below, n. 104.

(68) עַל (so, too, טַס) is correct, and we must not, with Hupfeld and Wellhausen, substitute אֵל; cf. my remarks in Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 134, l. 27.



(69) ⚡ reads ἐν μέσῳ (⚡ in medio) = בגוא; but ⚡ במישר ⚡, Ges.<sup>1</sup>. For ׀ and ׀ cf. my remarks in Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 85, l. 8; p. 251, l. 1; p. 255, l. 8; p. 301, l. 15.

(70) The verbal form is unaccented; cf. my remarks in ZDMG 58, 627, below. Grimme, *Psalmenprobleme*, p. 19, reads גם כִּי־אַלֶּךְ בְּגִיא צִלְמוֹת לֹא אִירָא רַע, which is unrhythmical. Ley scanned in his *Grundzüge* (1875): גם כִּי־אַלֶּךְ בְּגִיא צִלְמוֹת לֹא־אִירָא רַע; in his *Leitfaden* (1887) he read: גם־כִּי אַלֶּךְ בְּגִיא צִלְמוֹת לֹא־אִירָא רַע.

(71) ⚡ משענתך has two beats; cf. my remarks on 1 S 2, 1 in ZDMG 58, 622. Grimme, p. 37, reads כִּי־אַחֲדָה עֲמָדִי שְׁבִטְךָ (for יִנְהוּנִי see below, n. 72). In the same way Ley (1887) read: שְׁבִטְךָ וּמִשְׁעֲנֶתְךָ; but this is just as wrong as his reading במעגלי־צֶדֶק with one beat. In 1875 he scanned correctly: שְׁבִטְךָ וּמִשְׁעֲנֶתְךָ צֶדֶק.

(72) Grætz's emendation יִנְהוּנִי, suggested in his commentary (Breslau, 1883) and in his *Emendationes* (Breslau, 1893) and supported by Nestle (ZAT 16, 321) and Grimme, p. 37, is gratuitous; nor need we read, with Halévy (cited by Bæthgen) יִנְהוּגִנִי. The verb נָחַם means not only to comfort, but also to encourage; see my remarks on נֶחֱמוּ נַחֲמוּ Is. 40, 1 in Drugulin's *Marksteine* (Leipzig, 1902) p. 46. ⚡ יִנְהוּנִי is warranted by ⚡ παρακάλεσαν, ⚡ יִנְהוּנִי ⚡, ⚡ عَاصِدَ (⚡ renders יִנְהוּנִי : erudiverunt me). Cheyne (1904) reads יִנְהוּנִי tranquillize me.

(73) Similarly Grætz's emendations תִּדְרֹשֶׁן (so in his commentary; cf. above, n. 65, end) or וְדִרְשֶׁנָּה (so in his *Emendationes*) are superfluous.

(74) The reading of ⚡, Thy cup, is not good.

(75) Instead of ⚡ רִוְיָהּ we should perhaps read, with Ges.-Buhl,<sup>13</sup> קֶשֶׁת רִמְיָהּ, נֶפֶשׁ רִמְיָהּ, כֶּה רִמְיָהּ; cf. רִמְיָהּ; ⚡, ⚡ (a fem. adj. like רִמְיָהּ; cf. רִמְיָהּ, ⚡, ⚡); cf. l. 47 of the second Mu'allāqa: متى تاتنى اصبحك (لشوق رمية); ⚡, matā ta'tini aṣbaḥka ka'sa<sup>n</sup> rauḡiātā<sup>n</sup>, whenever thou comest to me I will give thee (to drink in the morning) a full cup; روية, = مروة. Cf. below, n. 100. ⚡ Quinta ⚡ combine כוסי רייה with the following אך טוב: καὶ τὸ ποτηρίον σου μεθύσκον ὡς κράτιστον, ⚡ et calix meus inebrians quam praeclarus est; compare Grimme, p. 182. The meter shows that this combination is wrong. ⚡, correctly, Sed et benignitas et misericordia subsequitur. Cheyne (1904) reads תִּרְוֶה thou fillest to the brim, but this emendation is unnecessary. His reading טוב, however, instead of ⚡ טוב is preferable.

(76) See JHUC, No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 54<sup>a</sup>.

(77) See n. 3 to my paper referred to in n. 76 and cf. W. Caspari, *Die Religion der assyrisch-babylonischen Busspsalmen* (Gütersloh, 1903) and A. Jeremias, *Monotheistische Strömungen innerhalb der babylonischen Religion* (Leipzig, 1904) pp. 34–43.

(78) JBL 19 (1900) pp. 55–81.

(79) Cf. my metrical Assyrian version of David's dirge, JHUC, No. 163, p. 56<sup>a</sup> and the modern Assyrian tablets referred to *ibid.*, p. 76<sup>a</sup>.

(80) For cuneiform poetry cf. my remarks in Crit. Notes on Proverbs (SBOT) p. 32, l. 34.

(81) For Iâma (*i. e.*, Iâva) see my remarks in Crit. Notes on Ezra-Neh. (SBOT) p. 68, l. 14; Transactions of the Thirteenth Oriental Congress (Leyden, 1904) p. 261; contrast Delitzsch, *Babel und Bibel*, fifth edition (Leipzig, 1905) pp. 78–80. Ia'pi-ilu could mean *God is resplendent, glorious*; cf. *ܐܝܠܐ ܝܥܠܐ ܥܕܝܗܡ* Ps. 132, 18 = *עליו יצאץ* over him (Zerubbabel; see above, n. 43) shall his crown shine bright; or ia'pi may correspond to *يعفو* so that Ia'pi-ilu would mean *God pardons* (*عفا الله عنه*). Contrast my remarks on Ia'lû (KB 2, 130, 20) = *يعلو* (= *يعلى*) in *Beitr. z. Assy.* 1, 170, below. See also Albert T. Clay, *Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur* (Philadelphia, 1904) p. 21 (contrast *ibid.*, p. xv). Dr. Clay remarks: "In what manner Jâwa represents ידו I am not prepared to say." We must bear in mind that the imperfect of the verbs ל"ה in Hebrew has the intransitive form, just as the perfect forms גָּלִית &c. are intransitive; cf. Crit. Notes on Ezra-Neh. (SBOT) p. 68, l. 20. Heb. ידו appears in Arabic as *ياها* *iahiâ*. The original form of ידו may therefore have been Iahûâ, or with quiescing of the *h* and shortening of the final *a*, Iâua which may be written Iâma in Assyrian, just as דריוש is written Dâriiâmuš; see my paper on the semivowel *u* in Assyrian, ZA 2, 269.

(82) Assy. umġu or (with partial assimilation of the *m* to the following *ġ*) unġu, fem. umġatu, means *want, hunger*. In post-Biblical Hebrew, *אָמַץ* means *to press, to close*, especially the eyes of the dead (so, too, Syr. *ܚܦܝ*) but the initial *ṣ* is probably an *ṣ*<sub>5</sub> = *غ*; cf. Arab. *غَمَضَ*, Heb. (with transposition) *עָצַם* Is. 29, 10; 33, 15. For *חָצַץ* (instead of *אָחַץ*\*) = *غَبَضَ* cf. Driver, *Tenses*, third ed., p. 225. Instead of *ul ammuġ* we might also say *ul axášax* or *sunqa ul ammar* *I shall not see want*, but this would not suit the meter. Assy. *sunġu* corresponds to Heb. *צָנַק* (partial assimilation of the initial *s* to the final *q*); cf. my remarks in *Hebraica* 1, 231. The *n* in *צָנַק* is secondary; the original root is *צָנַק*; cf. Assy. *sîqu tight* = Arab. *صَيَّقَ*. Assy. *sûqu street* (originally *narrow passage*) must be derived from the same root; see Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 133, n. †; p. 251, l. 21.

(83) Assy. *ušbarri* means *he satisfied, nourished* (*ברא*) abundantly. A more literal rendering of Heb. *נַפְשִׁי יִשׁוּבָב* would be *napišti ana ašriša utâr*, lit., He brings my soul back to its place (cf. Delitzsch, HW 702<sup>b</sup>).

(84) The etymological equivalent of Heb. *מִנְחָה* would be *manâxâti* (HW 453<sup>b</sup>, below). *Manâxtu resting place* must not be confounded with *mânaxtu hardship* from *אָנַח*; see my translation of the beginning of the Babylonian Nimrod Epic (JAOS 22, 12).

(85) We might also use qirbeti (HW 595<sup>b</sup>) or gine, but not usalle *marshes* (Syr. ܐܬܠܐ). For l. 135 of the Flood tablet see my note in JAOS 17, 161. n. \*.

(86) See Zimmer, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babyl. Religion* (Leipzig, 1901) p. 216, l. 3 (No. 100, 17); contrast HW 229<sup>b</sup>. We might also use urqêti or biri (HW 243<sup>b</sup>. 184<sup>b</sup>).

(87) Or xurri. For neribu (from erêbu *to enter*, עִירַב) see Haupt, *The Assyrian E-vowel* (Baltimore, 1887) p. 13.

(88) Eṭûtu = \*gataṭtu. We could also say ekliti (הַכֵּל) or da'ummati which mean both *darkness* and *distress*, just as idirtu *distress* means originally *darkness*; see my *Eccl.*, n. 32 on IV.

(89) The impf. of allak (for a'álak, ahálak) *I go*, illik is based on the analogy of the verbs פָּנֵן.

(90) For limuttu = לִמְיֻט see my remarks in Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 175, note \*, l. 4.

(91) Addar = ahádar (הָדַר). We might also say lâ-apálex, but this would not suit the meter.

(92) Šibirru denotes a staff which may be used as a weapon. In my ASKT 120, 16 we read: re'u ina šibirrišu lidûkši *the shepherd may slay her with his staff*. The stem of Heb. שִׁבְטָא *staff* is Assy. šabātu *to strike*, in Ethiopic (with partial assimilation of the initial *s* to the following *b*; cf. above, n. 82) ሐበጠ : zabáṭa. Assy. šibṭu is used both for *sceptre* and *massacre* (HW 638<sup>a</sup>).

(93) To accent the conjunction is preferable to emphasizing the pronoun: Kāša šibirruka u-xuṭartuka.

(94) Š uses the same word: שִׁבְטָא שִׁבְטָא.

(95) More literally, šunu utakkalûni.

(96) ŠT use the corresponding word פָּתוּר (פָּתוּרָה, פָּתוּרָה); see my remarks in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* 1, 161. We might also say naptana tarákas or naptana tašákan.

(97) Assy. rakāsu means originally *to bind* (cf. Ex. 28, 28; 39, 21) then *to put together, to arrange*. Rakāsu ša paššûri means especially *to arrange a sacrificial table*; cf. Zimmer, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babyl. Religion* (Leipzig, 1901) p. 94, 2.

(98) Or zâ'ire'a (זִירָא) or nakrûti'a.

(99) Cf. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 222; Hunger, *Becherwahrsagung bei den Babyloniern* (Leipzig, 1903) p. 7, l. 7.

(100) Similarly E uses a verbal form ܐܠܐܝܐ : iráui, *calix quoque tuus sitim explet*, ܐܠܐܝܐ. According to Ehrlich רִירָא means only *enough to quench the thirst*. If we wanted to use a noun instead of a verb, we might say: kāsī duxdu, or xegallu, or nuxšu, or baltu, or lalû, or ablûtu; but idáxad is preferable. The impf. Qal idxud, which is not recorded in Delitzsch's HW 214<sup>a</sup>, is found in my ASKT 51, 47. ܐܠܐܝܐ substitute a verb for a noun in the beginning of the psalm: Κύριος ποιμαίνει με, *Dominus regit me*, ܐܠܐܝܐ ܢܚܝܒ. Cf. above, 31. 75.

(101) See HW 613<sup>b</sup>.

(102) More literally, *kal ûme balâti'a*, but *kal ûme'a* is more idiomatic. The stem of *kal* *all* is כָּלִי.

(103) The etymological equivalent of Heb. לְאָרֶךְ יָמִים, Assyr. *ana arâk ûme* is used in the sense of *longevity*. *Ana arâk ûme* would mean *for a long life*. *For ever* is expressed either by *ana ûme gâti* (צָאֵת) literally, *for the days of exit* (HW 239<sup>b</sup>) or *ana dûri dâri*, or *ana dârâti* (HW 213) or *ana mati-ma* (HW 435<sup>b</sup>) or *ana arkat* (יֶרֶךְ) *ûme* (HW 243<sup>a</sup>).

(104) Olshausen assigned Ps. 23 to the time of Simon, about May 142, when the Syrian garrison in the Acra of Jerusalem was starved into surrender (*cf.* above, n. 43). The Syrians were in great distress for want of victuals, and a great number of them perished (1 Macc. 13, 21. 49. For Hitzig's and Grætz's views see above, n. 27. According to Michaelis and Hengstenberg the psalm is Davidic; so, too, Delitzsch and DeWette-Baur. Theodore of Mopsuestia (*cf.* JHUC, No. 163, p. 54<sup>a</sup>) referred it to the Return of the people from the Exile, and the refreshment and pleasure they found when they left Babylon (ZAT 5, 94, below). According to his interpretation v. 5 alludes to the heathen nations which cannot harm Israel enjoying the protection of her God. ט and the Midrash refer the psalm to Israel's wanderings in the desert and to the Exile. Hugo Grotius remarks in his *Annotationes in Vetus Testamentum: Chaldaeus putat esse Oden factam in nomine Israelitarum qui in deserto fuerunt*. Bæthgen thinks that the psalm must be assigned to the period in which the Songs of Degrees (Pss. 120-134) originated, *i. e.*, some time after the Return from the Exile; see, however, Dr. Stevens' dissertation, referred to above, n. 4.

(105) BCP renders: *therefore can I lack nothing*. This is better than the translation given in AV: *I shall not want*.

(106) T. K. Abbott remarks in his *Essays chiefly on the Original Texts of the Old and New Testaments* (London, 1891) p. 93: "What is spoken of is the darkness of deep trouble." At the battle of Bethsura (1 Macc. 4, 29) Judas had but 10,000 men, while the Syrians numbered 65,000; so the Maccabees passed indeed through a glen of gloom: they were in sore straits, and the outlook was gloomy. But יהוה's flock feared no harm. His staff and his shepherd's crook gave them courage. The Syrians were defeated, and Judas went up to Mount Zion to purify and rededicate the Temple (1 Macc. 4, 36). They put up a new altar of burnt offerings (v. 47) in the face of their foes (in the citadel, v. 41) and celebrated the Rededication for eight days.

(107) The staff of the Shepherd of Israel will ward off dangers, His crook will show the way. According to Ehrlich the *staff* (שֵׁבֶט) is the rod of chastisement, while the *crook* (מִשְׁעֵנָה) suggests support.

(108) Emphasized in the Hebrew. Grimme,<sup>57</sup> p. 37 thinks it might easily be dispensed with. Heb. הַמֶּה is warranted by ἡ αὐτὰί, ἡ ἰψα, ט הַמֶּה, ש הַמֶּה. On the other hand, ἡ inserts in l. 2 ἐκεί: εἰς τόπον

χλόης, ἐκεῖ με κατεσκήνωσεν (¶ *in loco pascuae ibi me collocavit*). Cheyne (1904) inserts ׀ in the Hebrew text.

(109) The whole poem may be paraphrased as follows : As long as JHVN is our leader, we shall suffer no want ; He will impart to us new strength and vigor ; He will give us rest from our enemies round about us, He will re-establish us in our possession of Judea, and we shall live in peace, as comfortably as a flock of lambs on meadows of verdure by refreshing waters after wanderings in the desert. Even if troublous times should come again, we are not afraid. JHVN's arm will ward off all dangers, and He will lead the way. We do not only suffer no want, we are actually feasting in the face of our foes, the Syrians : our table is spread, our cups are brimful, our heads are perfumed as though we were banqueting in times of peace. JHVN's goodness and kindness will be with us throughout our lives ; He will grant us victory and prosperity, He will also restore to us the Temple on Mount Zion, which has been defiled by the Syrians, that we may re-enter it and worship there for ever.

(110) Like a fourfooted animal.